Inducing the use of racial labels:

The impact of defying colourblind norms on explicit prejudice

Elysia Vaccarino

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of Master of Arts

Graduate Program in Psychology

York University

Toronto, Ontario

December 2016

Abstract

In society today, there exist strong norms against outwardly expressing prejudice and mentioning group differences such as race is often discouraged. Though people who act according to these colourblind norms appear to embrace egalitarianism, behaviour associated with these norms can have adverse effects on subsequent intergroup bias. In particular, research has demonstrated that not acknowledging race can actually increase prejudice (Kawakami et al., in preparation). The current research uses a novel paradigm, related to an ambiguous interracial photograph, to examine the impact of inducing people to use racial labels on subsequent explicit prejudice. Specifically, I investigated whether acknowledging, versus avoiding race reduces bias on the Modern Racism Scale (Study 1) and the Attitude Towards Blacks Scale (Study 2). Furthermore, I examined whether implicit prejudice (Study 1) and External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice (Study 2) moderate this effect. Implications for race relations and potential future research directions are discussed.

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Introduction

In society today, strong social norms against expressing racial prejudice exist and limit the extent to which these biases are outwardly expressed (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002; Plant & Devine, 1998). In the current climate, people are motivated to avoid behaviours that suggest differential treatment of people from groups other than their own. Being labeled racist, and behaving in an overtly racist manner can cause discomfort and garner social disapproval from others (Monin & Miller, 2001). One strategy to avoid these repercussions is to refrain from acknowledging race in intergroup contexts. People often assume that such colourblind behaviour leads to positive perceptions of being nonracist (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008), however, there is additional research to suggest that there may in fact be negative consequences of avoiding racial labels (Kawakami et al., in preparation).

In the present research, I investigated different forms of colourblind strategies, their frequency, and their consequences. Specifically, across two studies I sought to investigate the prevalence of colourblind strategies, and the impact the use of such strategies, versus using racial labels, could have on subsequent prejudice. More importantly, I examined how resisting colourblind norms by using racial labels can aid rather than hinder goals of racial egalitarianism. I also explored how goal theory can help explain these downstream consequences by investigating the role of implicit prejudice and external motivation to respond without prejudice in the relationship between using racial labels versus using colourblind strategies and explicit prejudice.

Prevalence of Colourblind Strategies

Past research in person perception finds that people form impressions of others quickly and often effortlessly on a range of dimensions (Willis & Todorov, 2006). Category information

regarding race, in particular, is processed very early in impression formation (Ito & Urland, 2003). Furthermore, categorization can lead to negative evaluations, stereotypic associations, and discriminatory behaviour (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002; Kawakami, Amodio, & Hugenberg, in press). This link between categorization and intergroup biases can explain why an attempt to counteract these processes by avoiding categorization all together (i.e., colourblindness) may seem appealing. However, because categorization processes and person judgments are often considered to be automatic, the efficacy of this strategy is questionable (Fazio & Dunton, 1997).

Nonetheless, strategic colorblindness has been touted by many as the solution to racism. "How do we stop racism? Stop talking about it. I'm going to stop calling you a white man, and I'm going to ask you to stop calling me a black man." This quote by Morgan Freeman (2005) on 60 minutes quickly became viral, demonstrating the wide appeal of such logic. Such colourblind norms can lead people to avoid using race even in contexts where the use of race is objectively functional to a goal. In particular, Apfelbaum et al. (2008) and Norton, Sommers, Apfelbaum, Pura, and Ariely (2006) used a modified "Guess Who" game in which participants had to identify a target person from an array of people using the least amount of questions as possible. In this game, referencing race was functional since it could help participants identify the target more efficiently, by requiring fewer questions to reach their goal. The results of these studies found that 68% to 93% asked about race when their partner was White, whereas 58% to 67% asked about race when they were playing the game with a Black partner. While it is clear that White participants used race less when their partner was Black compared to White, because of the functionality of race, in this study the majority of participants still acknowledged race.

While the latter research focused on a context in which using racial labels was functional to the primary goal (i.e., succeeding in the game), in a real world situation, the relevance of race is often ambiguous. In the current research, I sought to extend initial findings on colourblind strategies by investigating a situation where the relevance of race is less obvious. Initial experiments in our laboratory demonstrate the pervasiveness of colourblindness in a more ambiguous context. Specifically, approximately 73% of participants did not mention race when describing an interracial interaction (Kawakami et al., in preparation). Thus it would seem that in these types of ambiguous contexts, the use of colourblind strategies would be much more prevalent than in contexts where race is objectively functional to a goal (Apfelbaum et al., 2008; Sommers, Apfelbaum, Dukes, Toosi, & Wang, 2006).

Acknowledging potential conflict and negativity in an interracial interaction could also imply the existence of bias. Thus, Kawakami et al. (in preparation) reasoned that in an ambiguous interracial context, people might be reluctant to refer to negativity or attribute blame, in order to avoid appearing prejudiced. Notably, in these studies, when colourblindness was conceptualized not only as not mentioning race but also as not acknowledging negativity or conflict or solely blaming the White (and not the Black) actor in an interracial situation that was ambiguously negative, the use of such strategies increased to 94%.

Consequences of Colourblind Strategies

Despite strong social norms and the apparent prevalence of strategic colorblindness, racial prejudice persists. While strategic colourblindness may be used to convey one's egalitarianism to others and intuitively seems proactive, research has demonstrated that it can have deleterious effects. In particular, Monin and Miller (2001) found that being given an initial opportunity to behave in a nonprejudiced manner provides people with moral credentials,

allowing them to subsequently demonstrate higher levels of bias. Furthermore, research has demonstrated that adherence to the colourblind approach can lead to a decreased likelihood that discrimination will be recognized and reported (Apfelbaum, Pauker, Sommers, & Ambady, 2010). This link between colourblind behaviour and prejudice is troubling, since the masking of initial bias not only reinforces false notions of a post-racial society but also suggests that initially acting in egalitarian ways permits subsequent negative intergroup actions. Furthermore, these adverse effects indicate that not acknowledging racial differences can lead to minimizing the importance and denying the existence of prejudice and discrimination itself.

Implicit Prejudice and Motivations to be Non-Prejudice

Recent research by Kawakami et al. (in preparation) suggests that participants' implicit prejudice can moderate the impact of the use of colourblind strategies on subsequent prejudice. Specifically, when asked to describe a photograph depicting an interracial interaction, the large majority of participants made use of colourblind strategies. Following this task, participants high but not low in implicit prejudice showed higher explicit prejudice. While participants both high and low in implicit prejudice do not typically acknowledge race, they may have different motivations for doing so, and the use of colourblind strategies may therefore have a different subsequent impact.

Goal theory (Fishbach & Dhar, 2005) suggests that progress towards a goal can either lead to goal commitment or goal disengagement, depending on one's reason for goal actions. Individuals high in implicit prejudice may not use racial labels in order to meet societal egalitarian standards. Because they are not personally committed to the goal, those high in implicit prejudice may therefore disengage from nonprejudice goals once they perceive progress on this external goal. In contrast, individuals low in implicit prejudice may not use racial labels

because they are personally committed to the goal of being nonprejudiced. Research by Moskowitz, Gollwitzer, Wasel, and Schaal (1999) suggests that people low in implicit prejudice have a chronic desire to be nonprejudice and therefore have become efficient in inhibiting automatic bias through practice. Thus, in contrast to those high in implicit prejudice, because people low in implicit prejudice are personally committed to the goal of nonprejudice, after using colourblind strategies, they may further invest in this goal and strive to control bias. In sum, when participants high but not low in implicit prejudice are able to use colourblind strategies, they may subsequently reduce control and demonstrate higher explicit prejudice.

The primary aim of the present research was to explore ways to prevent this reduction in control of prejudice by those high in implicit prejudice by reducing the use of colourblind strategies. In particular, the current research investigated the effect of inducing the use of racial labels. Because current societal norms encourage people to avoid appearing biased (Monin & Miller, 2001) and one way to fulfill this goal is by avoiding the use of racial labels (Norton et al., 2006), obliging people to use racial labels denies them the opportunity to behave according to nonprejudice norms. This strategy should therefore prevent people from feeling as though their goals of nonprejudice have been satisfied.

Goal achievement and goal failure have different outcomes and implications. In particular, research in goal theory finds that an unfulfilled goal remains active in the mind until completion or disengagement (Forster, Liberman, & Higgins, 2005). Specifically, when a goal is not fulfilled, goal-related constructs continue to be accessible. Bearing in mind that people associate goals of nonprejudice with colourblind strategies, when participants are obliged to use racial labels, they would be unable to fulfill these goals, and thus the goal would remain active in their minds (Forster et al., 2005).

Furthermore, the threat of potential goal failure can lead to distress and increased self-regulatory effort (De Ridder, Kuijer, Ouwehand, 2007). In such cases, people become determined to pursue their goals. When participants are obliged to use racial labels, they would be unable to fulfill their goal to be nonprejudice and may react with a continued engagement in self-regulatory efforts. They may therefore exhibit less explicit prejudice than participants who have had the opportunity to use colourblind strategies.

I expected this persistence in motivation to appear nonprejudice to occur for both those high and low in implicit prejudice. While colourblind strategies signal progress towards goals of nonprejudice, inducing participants to use racial labels should not give people the sense of goal fulfillment. Thus, despite their differing motivations (i.e., externally-based vs. chronic), when induced to use racial labels, participants both high and low in implicit prejudice should persist in striving towards the goal of nonprejudice, rather than disengage from it, leading to lower levels of explicit prejudice compared to after using colourblind strategies (Fishbach & Dhar, 2005).

External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice

While implicit prejudice is expected to moderate the effect of acknowledging race versus using colourblind strategies on explicit prejudice, so might external motivations to respond without prejudice (EMS, Plant & Devine, 1998). According to Plant and Devine (1998), people who are high in EMS are not personally committed to the goal to be egalitarian. Like people high in implicit prejudice, they only respond in nonprejudice ways because of external norms. Thus, like those high in implicit prejudice, the use of colourblind strategies should lead to goal disengagement for people high in EMS. Specifically I expected participants high in EMS who had the opportunity to use colourblind strategies, to reduce control and demonstrate higher explicit prejudice, compared to those induced to use racial labels, who should demonstrate

persistence on goals of appearing nonprejudice since these goals would not yet have been fulfilled, and should stay active until completed. Alternatively, I expected those low in EMS not to reduce control on their egalitarian goals after using colourblind strategies, or racial labels, thus exhibiting similarly low levels of explicit prejudice.

Overview of Studies

A primary aim of the present research was to replicate past findings regarding the prevalence of colourblind strategies and to investigate an array of forms of colourblind strategies that people use in ambiguous contexts to appear nonprejudiced. A further aim was to extend initial findings by investigating the impact of colourblind strategies compared to acknowledging race on subsequent prejudice. In particular, I examined whether inducing people to mention race in describing an ambiguous interracial interaction, can result in less prejudice, compared to participants who had the opportunity to use colourblind strategies. Because being given an opportunity to demonstrate nonprejudice can lead to subsequent increases in bias (Monin and Miller, 2001), I sought to investigate whether using racial labels can prevent people from receiving these moral credentials, leading to subsequent control of bias. A further aim was to explore the moderating effects of implicit prejudice and EMS on the relationship between acknowledging race and explicit prejudice.

In sum, I expected that when describing an ambiguous interracial interaction, participants who had the opportunity to use colourblind strategies would typically avoid mentioning race, and subsequently, participants high in implicit prejudice (Experiment 1) or External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice (EMS, Experiment 2) would reduce control and subsequently demonstrate higher explicit bias compared to participants who were induced to use racial labels. I expected that participants low in implicit prejudice (Experiment 1) or EMS (Experiment 2),

would not reduce control, and thus maintain similarly low levels of explicit prejudice whether they had the opportunity to use colourblind strategies or were induced to use racial labels.

The present research seeks to provide some insight into understanding the underlying processes and nuances of efforts to be nonprejudice. This line of research has the potential to provide further insight into the fallibility of the colourblind approach of managing diversity. In contrast to colourblind strategies, using racial labels may prove to be a more effective tool in race relations by preventing the reduction of control following the use of colourblind strategies.

Study 1

An aim of Study 1 was to replicate past findings regarding the prevalence of colourblind strategies when describing an ambiguous interracial interaction. Further aims of the study were to investigate whether inducing participants to use racial labels in describing an ambiguous interracial interaction can yield less subsequent explicit prejudice compared to those who had the opportunity to use colourblind strategies, as well as to investigate the moderating effects of implicit prejudice in this process.

With respect to the prevalence of colourblind strategies, I expected that, in accordance with past research (Kawakami et al., in preparation), when presented with an ambiguous photograph, participants would typically describe an interracial interaction in colourblind terms (i.e., avoiding mentioning race, avoiding mentioning conflict, attributing blame to only the White actor), however, when induced to use racial labels, they would not be able to. In terms of the effect of inducing participants to use racial labels, I expected that participants high in implicit prejudice would reduce control and demonstrate higher explicit prejudice on the Modern Racism Scale after using colourblind strategies, compared to those who were induced to use racial labels. In contrast, I expected that participants low in implicit prejudice, whose goals of nonprejudice are more chronic, would not differ in explicit prejudice after using colourblind strategies or racial labels.

Method

Participants and design. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two Photograph Instructions conditions in a 2 Photograph Instructions (Use Race vs. Standard) x IAT score (continuous) between-subjects design. Using an estimate of typical effect sizes in social psychology (r = .20, converted to f^2 = 0.046; Fraley & Vazire, 2014), power analyses using

G*Power 3.1 (Faul et al., 2009) indicated that 173 participants would be required to reach 80% power. However, to ensure adequate power, and to account for potential dropout, our stop rule was to conclude recruitment at the end of the day in which 200 participants was reached. A total of 201 non-Black students were recruited, however five participants were excluded due to having 10% or more IAT response times of less than 300 milliseconds (indicative of random pressing), eleven participants were excluded due to incomplete responses to the Photograph Task, and seventy-five participants failed to fully complete the online IAT two weeks later, leaving a sample of 110 participants (65 females, 45 males; 52 South Asian, 23 White/European-Canadian, 11 Middle Eastern, 9 East Asian, 8 South-East Asian, 7 Hispanic).

Procedure. Participants were told that the study was related to people's impressions of others. They were first presented with an Ambiguous Photograph Task, followed by the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986) to measure explicit prejudice. Two weeks after the completion of the in-lab tasks, participants were sent a link and asked to complete an online Implicit Association Test (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998) to measure implicit prejudice.

Ambiguous Photograph Task. To manipulate participants' use of colourblind strategies, the Ambiguous Photograph Task was used. Participants were first presented with an image depicting an ambiguous interracial interaction in which a Black man and a White man are bumping in a crowded stairwell (Kawakami et al., in preparation) (see Figure 1a). Participants in the Standard Photograph Instruction condition received the following instructions: "In one sentence, describe the people in the photograph. In a second sentence, describe what you think is happening in the photograph." Participants in the Use Race Photograph Instruction condition were given the following instructions: "In one sentence, describe the people in the photograph, including the race and sex of each person. In a second sentence, describe what you think is

happening in the photograph." These latter instructions were intended to deny participants the opportunity to follow colourblind norms. Instructions related to the sex of the target were included so that the relevance of race was less obvious. In both conditions, individual responses were recorded on the computer microphone.

Figure 1a. Ambiguous Photograph Task

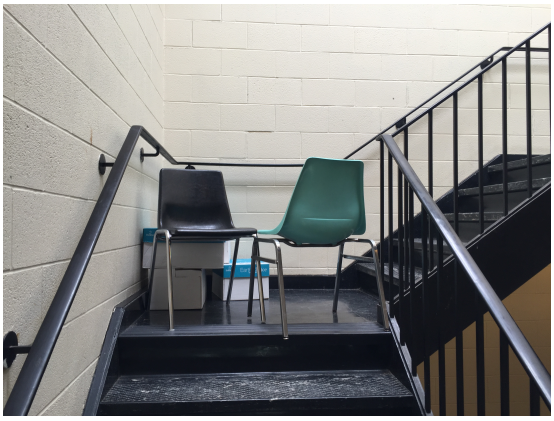

Figure 1b. Ambiguous Photograph Task Chairs Control Photograph

Modern Racism Scale. To measure explicit prejudice, participants were presented with a modified version of the Modern Racism Scale (MRS, McConahay, 1986). Specifically, participants were asked to indicate their agreement with seven statements on a 9-point scale ranging from 1, strongly disagree, to 9, strongly agree. An example item is: "Blacks should not push themselves where they are not wanted." After reverse coding one item, the reliability of this scale (α = .74), was acceptable, and the mean of the seven items was computed to create an index of Modern Racism. Higher scores indicated higher explicit prejudice.

Implicit Association Test. To measure implicit racial attitudes, participants were presented with the Implicit Association Test (IAT, Greenwald et al., 1998). The IAT measures the strength of associations between pleasant and unpleasant concepts and Blacks relative to Whites. In particular, participants had to categorize six photographs of Black and White faces, six pleasant words (love, cheer, rainbow, peace, happy and caress), as well as six unpleasant

words (evil, pain, grief, vomit, hate, and filth). In line with standard IAT procedures, in one set of critical trials, participants were required to use the same key to categorize Black faces and pleasant words, and a different key to categorize White faces and unpleasant words. In another set of critical trials, participants categorized Black faces and unpleasant words with the same key and White faces and pleasant words with another key. Each critical block was made up of 72 trials and the order of the blocks was counterbalanced across participants.

Following a correct response, participants were presented with a blank screen for 1000 ms before the start of the next trial. If participants made an incorrect response, however, they were presented with a blank screen for 100 ms, followed by a red "X" in the center of the screen for 800 ms, and another blank screen for 100 ms before the start of the next trial. IAT D scores were computed using a standard scoring algorithm (Greenwald, Nosek, & Banaji, 2003). In particular, mean response latencies between the two critical blocks were computed with higher scores indicating more negative associations with Blacks relative to Whites.

Results

To investigate the prevalence of colourblind strategies, responses on the Ambiguous Photograph Task were coded and content analyzed. Next, to examine the effect of colourblind strategies and implicit prejudice on explicit prejudice, I conducted multiple regression analyses.

Content analyses of photograph responses. A research assistant transcribed participants' verbatim responses. The table below (Table 1) contains typical examples of responses on the Ambiguous Photograph Task. As expected, whereas participants in the Standard Photograph Instruction condition avoided using racial labels, participants in the Use Race Photograph Instruction condition consistently acknowledged race.

Table 1

Examples of Responses on the Ambiguous Photograph Task

Standard Photograph Instruction Condition	Use Race Photograph Instruction Condition
"These people look like high school students or students in general. Seems like these people are just passing each other in the hallway and just bumping into each other randomly."	"There are two people in the photograph. One is a black male and one is a white male. One is climbing up the stairs and one is climbing down the stairs."
"The people in the photograph look like two students who might be casually bumping into each other on their way to their class."	"There are two males, one is an African American, one is Caucasian, they are just passing by on a stairwell."
"The people in the photograph look like acquaintances that just bumped into each other on the staircase."	"So, in the photograph, there is two… it looks like two males. One looks like of the African origin and the other one looks Caucasian. And just looks like they're walking up the stairs; one's walking up and one's walking down."
"There are two males, one look like he's from the black community and the other one is white. Both of them look like students and possibly going to school."	"So, there are two people standing on the stairs. One looks African, so he is black and the other looks white. And what they're doing is the white person is trying to go up the stairs, while the other person, the black person is trying to come down the stairs. And they have collided their shoulders, which doesn't seem to be a problem because they're just trying to go upstairs."
"There is one male, one black male and one Caucasian male. It looks like they are just walking by each other."	"So there are two people in this picture. I see one black guy and one white guy. They are both males. I believe that they are crossing each other on the stairs. They might be bumping into each other, maybe small conflict but not really something to worry about."
"It looks like there's a man passing on the staircase, he's trying to go up and I think the other man is trying to stop him. The black man – I'm not trying to be racist, but he looks angry and he looks like he's in a hurry."	"There's two men. One young African-American man and one white man. It looks like the white guy is pushing past the black guy. They're trying to go up and down the stairs in opposite directions and it looks like the white guy is hitting his shoulder against the black guy's shoulder because he is trying to get by him."

Three independent coders content analyzed all Ambiguous Photograph Task descriptions. Cohen's kappas were computed by calculating the means of the kappa coefficients produced from each coder pair (Light, 1971). Specifically, the mean kappa coefficient of each pair of the 3 coders was obtained, and the average of these 3 means was calculated. For all participant descriptions, coders rated 1) whether the race of the actors was mentioned (yes, no), Cohen's kappa = .97, and the specific terms used; 2) whether conflict was mentioned (yes, no), Cohen's kappa = .92; 3) whether blame was attributed to the White actor (yes, no), Cohen's kappa = .81; and 4) whether blame was attributed to the Black actor (yes, no), Cohen's kappa = .83. Of note, ratings for blame were not mutually exclusive; participants could blame either both actors, one of the actors, or neither actor.

In the final coding, when the coders differed in their ratings, the response that was the same for 2 of the 3 coders was used to create scores for mentioning race, blame to each actor, and conflict. These final rating scores were used in analyses as well as to create an overall index of colourblind strategies (yes, no). In particular, when a description 1) did not mention race and/or 2) did not mention conflict and/or 3) placed sole blame on the White actor, it was coded as overall colourblind. Chi-square tests by condition were conducted to analyze the extent to which participants mentioned race, mentioned conflict, blamed Blacks, blamed Whites, blamed solely Whites, and used overall colourblind strategies.

Acknowledging race. A chi-square analysis between Standard and Use Race Photograph Instruction conditions was conducted to examine whether participants differed in the extent to which they mentioned race. As expected, participants differed in their use of race based on Photograph Instructions, X^2 (N=110, 1) = 53.51, $p < .001$ (see Table 2). I further conducted separate chi-square analyses for participants who did, or did not, mention race. Among

participants who did mention race, as expected participants in the Use Race Photograph Instruction condition (100%) did so to a significantly greater extent than participants in the Standard Photograph Instruction condition (34.5%), X^2 (N= 74, 1) = 17.51, $p < .001$. As expected, the majority of participants in the Standard Photograph Instruction condition did not mention race (65.5%).

Out of further interest, specific racial labels used in the Ambiguous Photograph Task descriptions were explored. Of the 19 participants in the Standard Photograph Instruction condition who used racial labels, when describing the White actor, 72.2% used the term White, 16.7% used the term Caucasian, 11.1% used other terms (i.e., lighter skin, light skinned). When describing the Black actor, 65.0% used the term Black, 20.0% used the term African American/Canadian, and 15.0% used other terms (i.e., dark skinned, darker skin, from the black community, other race).

All of the 55 participants in the Use Race Photograph Condition used racial labels when describing the actors. For the White target, 69.0% used the term White, 23.6% used the term Caucasian, 1.8% used the term European, and 5.5% used other terms (i.e., American, Canadian). When describing the Black target, 60.0% used the term Black, 40.0% used the term African American/Canadian, and 7.3% used other terms (i.e., dark skin, African, Caribbean).

Table 2

Acknowledging Race by Photograph Instruction Condition

	Mentioned Race	
Photograph Instruction condition	Yes	No
Standard	34.5%	65.5%
Use Race	100%	0%

Acknowledging conflict. A chi-square analysis between Standard and Use Race Photograph Instruction conditions was conducted to examine the extent to which participants mentioned conflict. Participants did not differ by Photograph Instruction condition as to whether they mentioned conflict, X^2 (N= 110, 1) = .61, p = .436 (see Table 3). Although this analysis was not significant, separate chi-square analyses were conducted for participants who did or did not mention conflict. These analyses revealed that there was no difference in the number of participants who mentioned conflict in the Standard (63.6%), and Use Race (56.4%) Photograph Instruction conditions, X^2 (N= 66, 1) = .24, p = .622. Likewise, there was no difference in the number of participants who did not mention conflict in the Standard (36.4%) and Use Race (43.6%) Photograph Instruction conditions, X^2 (N= 44, 1) = .36, p = .546.

Table 3

Acknowledging Conflict by Photograph Instruction Condition

	Mentioned Conflict	
Photograph Instruction Condition	Yes	No
Standard	63.6%	36.4%
Use Race	56.4%	43.6%

Attributions of blame. Next, chi-square analyses regarding attributions of blame to White and Black actors were conducted.

Blame to the White actor. A chi-square analysis between Standard and Use Race Photograph Instruction conditions was conducted to examine the extent to which participants attributed blame to the White actor. Participants did not differ in blame to the White actor according to Photograph Instruction condition, X^2 (N= 110, 1) = .91, p = .340 (see Table 4).

Although this analysis was not significant, separate chi-square analyses were conducted for participants who did or did not attribute blame to the White actor. Analyses revealed that there was no difference in the number of participants who blamed the White actor in the Standard (54.5%) and Use Race (45.5%) Photograph Instruction conditions, X^2 (N= 55, 1) = .46, p = .500. Likewise, there was no difference in the number of participants who did not blame the White actor in the Standard (45.5%) and Use Race (54.5%) Photograph Instruction conditions, X^2 (N= 55, 1) = .46, p = .500.

Blame to the Black actor. A chi-square analysis between Standard and Use Race Photograph Instruction conditions was conducted to examine the extent to which participants attributed blame to the Black actor. Participants did not differ in blaming the Black actor according to Photograph Instruction condition, X^2 (N= 110, 1) = .58, p = .446 (see Table 5). Although this analysis was not significant, separate chi-square analyses were conducted within participants who did, or did not attribute blame to the Black actor. Analyses revealed that there was no difference in the number of participants who blamed the Black actor in the Standard (52.7%), and Use Race (45.5%) Photograph Instruction conditions, X^2 (N= 54, 1) = .30, p = .586. Likewise, there was no difference in the number of participants who did not blame the Black actor in the Standard (57.3%) and Use Race (54.5%) Photograph Instruction conditions, X^2 (N= 56, 1) = .29, p = .593.

Sole blame to the White actor. Next, a chi-square analysis between Standard and Use Race Photograph Instruction conditions was conducted to examine the extent to which participants placed sole blame on the White actor. Sole blame to the White actor was defined as when participants attributed blame to the White actor but did not attribute blame to the Black actor. Participants did not differ in solely blaming the White actor according to Photograph

Instruction condition, X^2 (N = 110, 1) = .44, p = .507 (see Table 6). Although this analysis was not significant, separate chi-square analyses were conducted for participants who attributed sole blame to the White actor and those who did not. These analyses revealed that there was no difference in the number of participants who solely blamed the White actor in the Standard (7.3%) and Use Race (10.9%) Photograph Instruction conditions, X^2 (N= 10, 1) = .40, p = .527. Likewise, there was no difference in the number of participants who did not attribute sole blame to the White actor in the Standard (92.7%) and Use Race (89.1%) Photograph Instruction conditions, X^2 (N= 100, 1) = .04, p = .841.

Table 4

Blaming White Actor by Photograph Instruction Condition

	Blamed White Actor	
Photograph Instruction condition	Yes	No
Standard	54.5%	45.5%
Use Race	45.5%	54.5%

Table 5

Blaming Black Actor by Photograph Instruction Condition

	Blamed Black Actor	
Photograph Instruction condition	Yes	No
Standard	52.7%	47.3%
Use Race	45.5%	54.5%

Table 6

Attributing Sole Blame to the White Actor by Photograph Instruction Condition

	Attributed Sole Blame to White actor	
Photograph Instruction condition	Yes	No
Standard	7.3%	92.7%
Use Race	10.9%	89.1%

Overall colourblind strategies. In a final set of analyses, a chi-square analysis between Standard and Use Race Photograph Instruction condition was conducted to examine whether participants differed in the extent to which they used overall colourblind strategies. Results revealed that participants differed in their use of colourblind strategies based on Photograph Instructions, X^2 (N= 110, 1) = 9.43, p = .002 (see Table 7). I further conducted separate chi-square analyses for participants who did or did not use overall colourblind strategies. Among participants who used overall colourblind strategies, they did so marginally more in the Standard Photograph Instruction condition (81.8%) than the Use Race Photograph Instruction condition (54.5%), X^2 (N = 75, 1) = 3.00, p = .083. Moreover, participants avoided using overall colourblind strategies significantly more in the Use Race Photograph Instruction condition (45.5%) than the Standard Photograph Instruction condition (18.2%), X^2 (N = 35, 1) = 6.43, p = .011.

Table 7

Overall Colourblind Strategies by Photograph Instruction Condition

	Used an Overall Colourblind Strategy	
Photograph Instruction condition	Yes	No
Standard	81.8%	18.2%
Use Race	54.5%	45.5%

Effect of overall colourblind strategies and implicit prejudice on the explicit prejudice. To investigate the impact of implicit prejudice and Photograph Instruction condition on explicit prejudice, I conducted a multiple regression analysis on explicit prejudice (see Figure 2). Specifically, effect-coded Photograph Instructions conditions (Standard = -1, Use Race = 1), mean-centered IAT scores, and their interaction term were used to predict the Modern Racism scores. Main effects were entered at Step 1, and the 2-way interaction at Step 2. The main effects of condition, $B = -.02$, $t\ (109) = -.24$, $p = .813$, and IAT, $B = .02$, $t\ (109) = .24$, $p = .808$ were not significant. Furthermore, the predicted two-way interaction between implicit prejudice and Photograph Instruction condition was also not significant, $B = -.03$, $t\ (109) = -.26$, $p = .784$.

Although the predicted interaction was not significant, to further explore the data, I investigated the difference in Modern Racism scores between Photograph Instruction conditions at high and low IAT levels. To obtain predictors for IAT at high and low levels, I subtracted, and added the standard deviation of mean-centered IAT scores, respectively. Furthermore, an interaction term with high IAT and Photograph Instruction condition was created. The high IAT predictor and condition were entered at step 1. The interaction term was entered at step 2 (Aiken & West, 1991). The same steps were taken for low IAT.

At high IAT, MRS scores did not differ between participants in the Standard Photograph Instruction condition who could use colourblind strategies, and those in the Use Race Photograph Instruction condition, $B = .051$, $t\ (109) = .36$, $p = .718$. At low IAT, the difference in MRS scores between Photograph Instruction conditions was also not significant, $B = -.003$, $t\ (109) = -0.24$, $p = .981$.

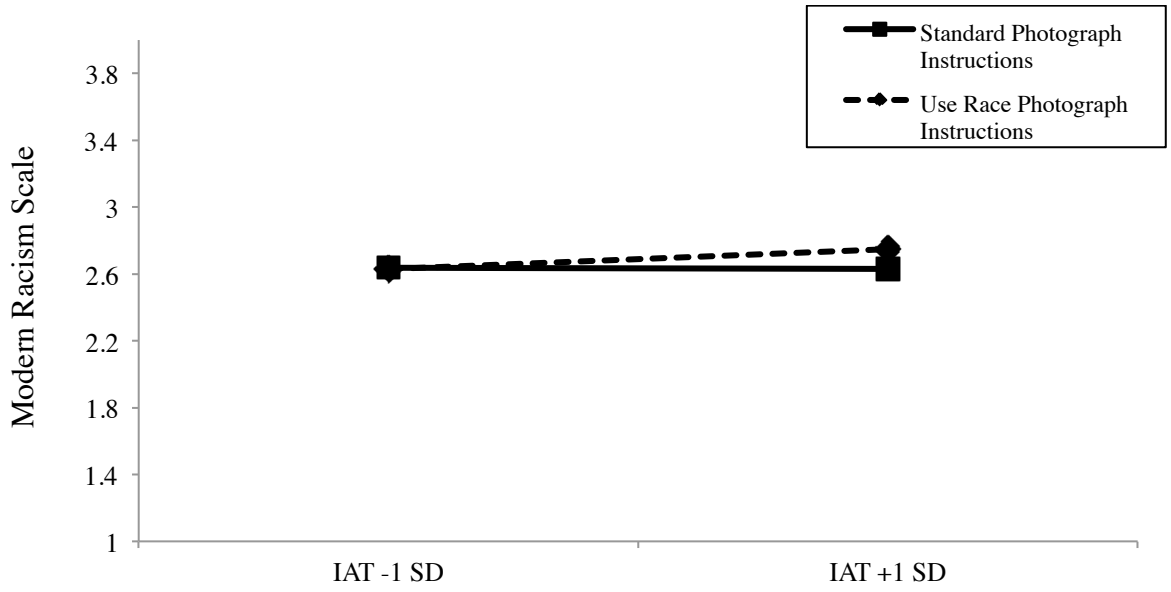

Figure 2. Effect of IAT and Photograph Instruction condition on Modern Racism scores. Low IAT is at 1 SD below the mean and High IAT is at 1 SD above the mean.

Discussion

The first goal of this study was to demonstrate the prevalence of colourblind strategies on descriptions of an ambiguous interracial interaction. In examining results related to the content of participants' photograph descriptions, as predicted, the majority of participants given Standard Photograph Instructions avoided mentioning race (65.5%). Furthermore, 81.8% of participants in the Standard Photograph Instruction condition used an overall colourblind strategy (avoided mentioning race, and/or conflict, and/or attributed blame to solely the White actor). While these results are consistent with predictions, the number of participants who avoided mentioning race is somewhat lower than comparable past studies (Kawakami et al., in preparation).

A second goal of this study was to investigate whether the use of colourblind strategies would impact explicit prejudice, and whether participants' implicit prejudice levels would moderate this effect. Specifically, the present study sought to examine whether inducing participants to use racial labels on the Ambiguous Photograph Task would result in their persistence to fulfill an egalitarian goal and demonstrate lower explicit prejudice than those who received Standard Photograph Instructions. Results of the multiple regression analysis revealed that, contrary to predictions, participants' high in implicit prejudice did not differ in explicit prejudice after having the opportunity to use colourblind strategies on the Ambiguous Photograph Task, compared to when they were induced to use racial labels. Participants low in implicit prejudice also did not differ in explicit prejudice levels between Photograph Instruction conditions. Thus, contrary to predictions, inducing participants to use race did not result in less explicit prejudice compared to participants who had the opportunity to use a colourblind strategy.

Together, the present results provide only weak support for our expectations. The finding that participants in the Standard Photograph Instructions condition mentioned race more often than in past studies is problematic, since the present research relies on the assumption that participants who are given no additional instructions when describing an interracial interaction, will pervasively use colourblind strategies. To help resolve this issue, in Study 2, non-Black research assistants were asked to remain in the room during the Ambiguous Photograph Task. I expected that this should reinforce the social norms that direct colourblind behavior.

Furthermore, whether participants could use colourblind strategies or were induced to use racial labels did not affect explicit prejudice. One possible explanation for this finding may relate to the instructions. In particular, participants in both conditions were asked: "… in a second sentence, describe what you think is happening in the photograph." While the goal of the Use

Race Photograph Instruction condition was to eliminate the ability for participants to use colourblind strategies, participants in the Standard Photograph Instruction condition used overall colourblind strategies only marginally more than those in the Use Race Photograph Instruction condition. Specifically, in the Use Race Photograph Instruction condition, over 54% of participants employed a colourblind strategy such as avoiding mentioning conflict or attributing blame solely to the White actor. To help resolve this issue in Study 2, I eliminated the second sentence of the Photograph Task instructions. By asking participants to describe only the actors in the photograph rather than the situation, I aimed to prevent participants from using other colourblind strategies such as discussing conflict or blame.

A further limitation of this study was that it was underpowered. Due to high attrition rates associated with the online IAT completed 1 week after the laboratory component, the desired sample size was not obtained. Furthermore, Study 1 lacked a control condition. Since colourblind strategies were expected to increase explicit prejudice, and using racial labels was expected to decrease explicit prejudice, a control condition would provide important information on the direction of the movement of explicit prejudice levels. Thus, in Study 2, a control condition involving a neutral photograph was included. This photograph depicted 2 chairs of different colours on the same staircase as the original Ambiguous Photograph Task, in the same position as the actors in the interracial interaction.

Study 2

The goals of Study 2 were to examine the prevalence of colourblind strategies in an ambiguous interracial context and to explore the impact of inducing the use of racial labels on explicit prejudice. A further goal was to investigate the moderating effect of External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice (EMS) scores on the impact of the use or absence of colourblind strategies on explicit prejudice. To accomplish these goals, the methodology from Study 1 was modified in several ways. First, the procedure related to the Ambiguous Photograph Task was changed. In particular, the experimenter remained in the room during the Ambiguous Photograph Task to reinforce social norms of colourblindness. Second, the instructions for the Ambiguous Photograph Task responses were changed in order to limit participants' opportunities to utilize other forms of colourblind strategies. Third, a neutral control condition was added to the Ambiguous Photograph Task. Specifically, participants in this condition were asked to describe a nonracial photograph depicting two chairs on a stairwell (see Figure 1b).

A further modification was the use of External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice, instead of implicit prejudice. When nonprejudice behaviours are perceived as progress on external social norm goals, as expected for those high in EMS, such behaviours are expected to lead to more goal disengagement and reduced control of explicit prejudice. In contrast, those low in EMS, whose motivations are not externally-based, should perceive progress on this goal as motivation to persist. Finally, rather than the Modern Racism Scale, Study 2 employed the Attitude Towards Blacks Scale (Brigham, 1993) to explore whether effects could be generalized to a different measure of explicit prejudice.

In describing the Ambiguous Photograph Task, I expected participants in a Standard Photograph Instruction condition to typically use colourblind strategies. I further expected that

participants high in EMS in the Standard Photograph condition, who were given the opportunity to act in colourblind ways would demonstrate higher prejudice on an explicit measure, the Attitude Towards Black Scale (ATB), compared to participants who described the Control Chair Photograph. Importantly, I expected that those high in EMS, would exhibit lower explicit prejudice on the ATB after being induced to use racial labels in their Ambiguous Photograph descriptions, compared to participants who described the Control Chair Photograph. I did not expect participants low in EMS to differ in explicit prejudice between the three Photograph Instruction conditions.

Method

Participants and design. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions in a 3 Photograph Instruction condition (Standard vs. Use Race vs. Chairs Control) x EMS score (continuous) between-subjects design. Using an estimate of typical effect sizes in social psychology (r = .20, converted to f^2 = 0.046; Fraley & Vazire, 2014), power analyses using G*Power 3.1 (Faul et al., 2009) indicated that 285 participants would be required to reach 80% power. However, to ensure adequate power, and to account for potential dropout, our stop rule was to conclude recruitment at the end of the day that 300 participants was reached. Although 305 non-Black students were recruited, five participants were excluded due to experimenter error, six participants were excluded due to comprehension or language issues, and seven participants were excluded due to missing data, leaving a sample of 287 participants (200 females, 87 males; 100 White/ European-Canadian, 72 South Asian, 40 Middle Eastern, 35 East Asian, 29 South-East Asian, 9 Hispanic, 2 Caribbean).

Procedure. Participants completed an initial pretest at the beginning of the academic semester as part of an Introductory Psychology course that included the External Motivation to

Respond Without Prejudice Scale (EMS, Plant & Devine, 1998). Upon arrival in the lab, participants were informed that the study investigated people's impressions of others. Participants completed the Ambiguous Photograph Task, followed by an explicit measure of prejudice, the Attitude Towards Blacks Scale (Brigham, 1993).

External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice. The EMS (Plant & Devine, 1998) was used to measure participants' external motives to respond without prejudice. This scale included five items designed to measure the extent to which people respond in egalitarian ways due to pressure from external norms. Participants were asked to indicate their agreement to each statement on a 7-point scale ranging from 1, strongly disagree, to 7, strongly agree. An example item is: "I try to act nonprejudiced towards Black people because of pressure from others." Given an acceptable reliability (α = .81), an index of EMS was created by computing the mean responses to the five items. Higher scores on the index indicated higher external motivation to respond without prejudice.

Ambiguous Photograph Task. To manipulate participants' use of colourblind strategies, the Ambiguous Photograph Task was used. Participants in the Standard Instruction condition were presented with the same interracial Ambiguous Photograph Task (see Figure 1a) used in Study 1. The instructions, however, now consisted solely of: "In one sentence, describe the people in the photograph." The second portion of the question ("what is happening in the photograph") was removed to limit participants' ability to respond in colourblind ways. Participants in the Use Race Photograph Instruction condition were presented with the interracial Ambiguous Photograph and the following instructions: "In one sentence, describe the people in the photograph, including the race and sex of each person." Finally, participants in the Chairs Control Photograph condition were presented with an alternative Ambiguous Photograph Task

depicting two chairs (see Figure 1b). Participants in this condition received the following instructions: “In one sentence, describe the objects in the photograph.” In all conditions, participants’ responses were recorded on the computer microphone. To reinforce social norms, in all conditions, an experimenter remained in the room for the duration of the Ambiguous Photograph Task.

Attitude Towards Blacks Scale. To measure explicit prejudice, participants were presented with the Attitude Towards Blacks Scale (Brigham, 1993). Specifically, participants were instructed to indicate the degree of their agreement with 20 statements on a 9-point scale ranging from 1, strongly disagree, to 9, strongly agree. A sample item from the scale is: “I would rather not have Blacks live in the same apartment building I live in.” After reverse coding ten items, the reliability of this scale (α = .81), was acceptable and the mean of all items was calculated to create an index of Attitude Towards Blacks. Higher scores on this index indicated higher explicit prejudice.

Results

To investigate the pervasiveness of colourblind strategies, responses on the Ambiguous Photograph Task were coded and content analyzed. Next, to examine the effect of colourblind strategies and External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice on explicit prejudice, I conducted multiple regression analyses.

Content analyses of photograph responses. A research assistant transcribed participants’ responses on the Ambiguous Photograph Task. In the table below are examples of typical responses from the Ambiguous Photograph Task, from all 3 Photograph Instruction conditions.

Table 9

Ambiguous Photograph Task Response Samples

Standard Condition	Use Race Condition	Chairs Control Condition
"Uhh, the one on the left looks a little aggressive and the one on the right looks a little timid."	"Um, an African-American, or African-Canadian male and a Caucasian male are both in the picture."	"There are two chairs on a staircase with boxes behind them."
"Friends… bumping into each other in the stairways."	"Uh, the people in this photo are both males. One is walking down the stairs. He is black. And there's one walking up the stairs and he appears to be white."	"There are chairs as well as stairs in the picture."
"Ok. Um, I guess he's looking down, so he's probably focused on where he's going. Um, there seems to be like physical contact between them, so he's obviously, um, maybe they're friends, maybe they know each other from before, um, it's not like there's any sort of prejudice between them. They both look fairly friendly and he's just focused on getting where he needs to go."	"Um, there is a White guy and… that's ok right? I can use terms like that? … Ok. And a Black guy. And they're both males."	"Ok. Two chairs, one facing away from the other. One is teal, turquoise in colour and the other one is black. And there's a staircase with a few boxes behind the chairs and railings."

In accordance with the procedure in Experiment 1, three independent coders content analyzed all Ambiguous Photograph Task descriptions. In particular, coders rated 1) whether the race of the actor was mentioned (yes, no), Cohen's kappa = .98, and the specific terms used; 2) whether conflict was mentioned (yes, no), Cohen's kappa = .89; 3) whether blame was attributed to the Black actor (yes, no), Cohen's kappa = .77; and 4) whether blame was attributed to the White actor (yes, no), Cohen's kappa = .80.

In the final coding, when coders differed in their ratings, the response that was the same for 2 of the 3 coders was used to create scores for mentioning race, conflict, and blame to each actor. These final rating scores were used in analyses. In accordance with Experiment 1, an overall index of use of colourblind strategies (yes, no) was also created. Chi-square tests by condition were used to analyze the extent to which participants mentioned race, mentioned conflict, blamed Blacks, blamed Whites, blamed solely Whites, and used overall colourblind strategies.

Acknowledging race. A chi-square analysis between Standard and Use Race Photograph Instruction condition was conducted to examine whether participants differed in the extent to which they mentioned race. As expected, participants differed in the use of race based on Photograph Instructions, X^2 (N=185, 1) = 130.06, $p < .001$ (see Table 10). Separate chi-square analyses for participants who did or did not mention race were conducted. These analyses revealed that significantly more participants mentioned race in the Use Race Photograph Instruction condition (100%) than in the Standard Photograph Instruction condition (18.0%), X^2 (N= 112, 1) = 57.14, $p < .001$. As expected, the majority of participants in the Standard Photograph Instruction condition did not mention race (82.0%).

Out of further interest, the particular racial labels used were explored. Of the 16 participants in the Standard Photograph Instruction condition who used racial labels, when describing the White actor, 80% used the term White, and 20% used the term Caucasian. When describing the Black actor, 68.8% used the term Black, 18.8% used the term African American/ Canadian, 6.3% used a term like "different races" and 6.3% used another term (i.e., African).

All of the 96 participants in the Use Race Photograph condition used racial labels in their descriptions. When describing the White target, 75.0% used the term White, 21.9% used the term

Caucasian, 1.0% used the term North American, and 3.1% used other terms (i.e., white skin, American, Canadian, white-skinned). When describing the Black target, 74.0% used the term Black, 27.1% used the term African American/Canadian, and 9.4% used other terms (i.e., African descent, African, dark, darker skin).

Table 10

Acknowledging Race by Photograph Instruction Condition

	Mentioned Race	
Photograph Instruction condition	Yes	No
Standard	18.0%	82.0%
Use Race	100%	0%

Acknowledging conflict. A chi-square analysis between Standard and Use Race Photograph Instruction conditions was conducted to examine whether participants differed in the extent to which they mentioned conflict. Participants differed in how often they mentioned conflict based on Photograph Instructions, X^2 (N= 185, 1) = 13.62, $p < .001$ (see Table 11). Separate chi-square analyses for participants who did or did not mention conflict were conducted. These analyses revealed that significantly more participants mentioned conflict in the Standard Photograph Instruction condition (43.8%), than the Use Race Photograph Instruction condition (18.8%), X^2 (N= 57, 1) = 7.74, $p = .005$. Furthermore, significantly less participants avoided mentioning conflict in the Standard Photograph instruction condition (56.2%) than in the Use Race Photograph Instruction condition (81.3%), X^2 (N= 128, 1) = 6.13, $p = .013$.

Table 11

Acknowledging Conflict by Photograph Instruction Condition

	Mentioned Conflict	
Photograph Instruction condition	Yes	No
Standard	43.8%	56.2%
Use Race	18.8%	81.3%

Attributions of blame. Next, chi-square analyses regarding attributions of blame to White and Black actors were conducted.

Blame to the White actor. A chi-square analysis between Standard and Use Race Photograph Instruction conditions was conducted to examine whether participants differed in the extent to which they attributed blame to the White actor. Participants did not differ in blame attribution to the White actor based on Photograph Instructions, X^2 (N= 185, 1) = 2.30, p = .130 (see Table 12). Although the analysis was not significant, separate chi-square analyses were conducted for those who did or did not attribute blame to the White actor. These analyses revealed that there was no difference in the number of participants who blamed the White actor in the Standard (27.0%) and Use Race (17.7%) Photograph Instruction conditions, X^2 (N= 41, 1) = 1.20, p = .274. Likewise, there was no difference in the number of participants who did not blame the White actor in the Standard (73.0%) and Use Race (82.3%) Photograph Instruction conditions, X^2 (N= 144, 1) = 1.36, p = .243

Blame to the Black actor. A chi-square analysis between Standard and Use Race Photograph Instruction conditions was conducted to examine whether participants differed in the extent to which they attributed blame to the Black actor. Participants did not differ in attributing

blame to the Black actor based on Photograph Instruction condition, X^2 (N= 185, 1) = 2.39, p = .112 (see Table 13). Although the analysis was not significant, separate chi-square analyses for participants who did or did not attribute blame to the Black actor were conducted. These analyses revealed that there was no difference in the number of participants who blamed the Black actor in the Standard (24.7%) and Use Race (15.6%) Photograph Instruction conditions, X^2 (N= 37, 1) = 1.33, p = .250. Likewise, there was no difference in the number of participants who did not blame the Black actor in the Standard (75.3%) and Use Race (84.4%) Photograph Instruction conditions, X^2 (N= 148, 1) = 1.32, p = .250.

Sole Blame to the White actor. Next, a chi-square analysis between Standard and Use Race Photograph Instruction conditions was conducted to examine whether participants differed in the extent to which they attributed sole blame to the White actor. Participants marginally differed in the extent to which they attributed sole blame to the White actor according to Photograph Instruction condition, X^2 (N = 185, 1) = 2.84, p = .092 (see Table 14). Although this analysis was only marginally significant, separate chi-square analyses were conducted for participants who solely blamed the White actor or not. These analyses revealed that there was no difference in the number of participants who solely blamed the White actor in the Standard (9.0%) and Use Race (3.1%) Photograph Instruction conditions, X^2 (N= 11, 1) = 2.27, p = .132. Likewise, there was no difference in the number of participants who did not attribute sole blame to the White actor in the Standard (91.0%), and Use Race (96.9%) Photograph Instruction conditions, X^2 (N= 174, 1) = .83, p = .363.

Table 12

Blaming the White Actor by Photograph Instruction Condition

	Blamed White Actor	
Photograph Instruction condition	Yes	No
Standard	27.0%	73.0%
Use Race	17.7%	82.3%

Table 13

Blaming the Black Actor by Photograph Instruction Condition

	Blamed Black Actor	
Photograph Instruction condition	Yes	No
Standard	24.7%	75.3%
Use Race	15.6%	84.4%

Table 14

Attributing Sole Blame to the White Actor by Photograph Instruction Condition

	Attributed Sole Blame to White actor	
Photograph Instruction condition	Yes	No
Standard	9.0%	91.0%
Use Race	3.1%	96.9%

Overall colourblind strategies. Finally, a chi-square analysis between Standard and Use Race Photograph Instruction condition was conducted to examine whether participants differed

in the extent that they used an overall colourblind strategy or not. Results revealed that participants differed in their use of colourblind strategies based on Photograph Instructions, X^2 (N= 185, 1) = 7.90, p = .005. Separate chi-square analyses for participants who did or did not use an overall colourblind strategy were conducted. These analyses revealed that there was no significant difference in the extent to which participants used an overall colourblind strategy in the Standard (96.6%) and Use Race (84.4%) Photograph Instruction conditions, X^2 (N= 167, 1) = .15, p = .699. Alternatively, less participants in the Standard Photograph Instruction condition used an overall colourblind strategy, (3.4%) than participants in the Use Race Photograph Instruction condition (15.6%), X^2 (N= 18, 1) = 8.00, p = .005.

Table 15

Overall Colourblind Strategies by Photograph Instruction Condition

	Used an Overall Colourblind Strategy	
Photograph Instruction condition	Yes	No
Standard	96.6%	3.4%
Use Race	84.4%	15.6%

Effect of Photograph Task conditions and External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice on responses on the Attitude towards Blacks Scale. To investigate the effect of the Photograph Instruction condition and External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice on explicit prejudice, I conducted a multiple regression analysis with Attitude Towards Blacks scores as the outcome variable (M = 2.63, SD = 0.95). Specifically, two dummy coded predictors were created from the three photograph instruction conditions, one comparing the Chairs Control Photograph condition with the Standard Photograph Instruction condition (D_1) and one comparing the Chairs Control Photograph condition with the Use Race Photograph Instruction

condition (D_2). Two interaction terms, each containing one dummy variable were created with mean-centered External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice scores. Mean-centered EMS scores were entered in step 1, dummy coded Photograph Instruction condition variables were entered in step 2, and both interaction terms were entered in step 3.

This analysis revealed a main effect of External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice score, $B = .26$, $t(286) = 4.48$, $p < .001$. Participants with higher EMS scores responded with higher explicit prejudice on the Attitude Towards Black Scale than participants with lower EMS scores. The main effect of photograph instructions, $R^2_{change} = .004$, $F\ (2, 283)_{change} = .56$, $p = .570$, and the EMS x Photograph Instruction interaction, $R^2_{change} = .003$, $F\ (2, 281)_{change} = .40$, $p = .674$ (see Figure 3) were not significant.

Although the predicted interaction was not significant, to further explore the data, I investigated the difference in Attitude Towards Black scores between Photograph Instruction conditions at high and low levels of External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice. To obtain predictors for EMS at high and low levels, I subtracted the standard deviation of mean-centered EMS scores, and added the standard deviation of mean-centered EMS scores, respectively. Furthermore, I created two interaction terms with high EMS and the two dummy variables. The high EMS predictor as well as the two interaction terms were entered at step 1. The two dummy-coded predictors representing the simple main effect of condition at high EMS were entered at step 2 (Aiken & West, 1991). The same steps were taken for low EMS.

At high EMS, ATB score did not differ between Standard, Use Race, and Chairs Control Photograph Instruction conditions, $R^2_{change} = .001$, $F(2,281)_{change} = .20$, $p = .818$. Similarly, at low EMS, ATB score did not differ between Standard, Use Race, and Chairs Control Photograph Instruction conditions, $R^2_{change} = .060$, $F\ (2,281)_{change} = .76$, $p = .467$.

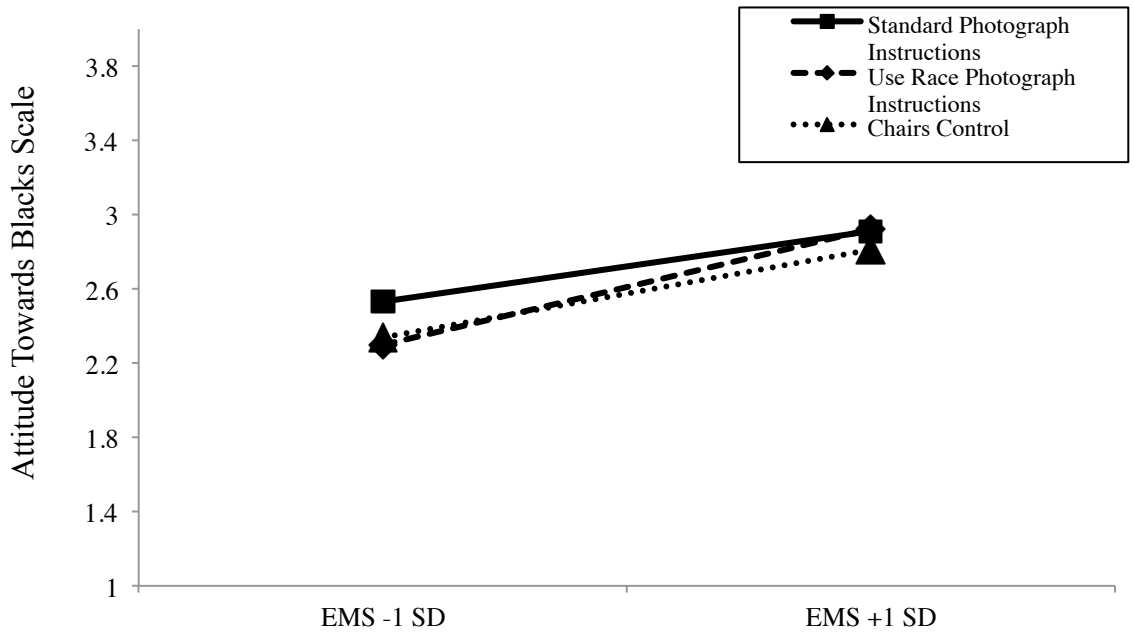

Figure 3. Effect of External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice and Photograph Condition on Explicit Prejudice (ATB). Low EMS is at 1 SD below mean and High EMS is at 1 SD above the mean.

Discussion

An aim of this study was to explore the prevalence of colourblind strategies in describing an ambiguous, interracial interaction. I expected that participants given Standard Photograph Instructions would typically avoid mentioning race on the Ambiguous Photograph Task. The results supported the prevalence of colourblind strategies. Specifically, 82% of participants who received Standard Photograph Instructions described the actors of the ambiguous interracial interaction without mentioning race. Of note, this number is larger than Study 1, where the experimenter did not remain in the room during the Photograph Task. These findings suggest that the presence of an experimenter in the room reinforces social norms and increases the use of colourblind strategies.

Importantly in Study 2, participants were only asked to describe the actors in the photograph, and not what is happening in the photograph, therefore it is unsurprising that compared to Study 1, many more participants did not mention conflict or attribute blame to

either actor, and thus were coded as having used a colourblind strategy. With this in mind, it is particularly interesting to note the amount of participants who still chose to mention conflict and blame, despite not being prompted for such information. Importantly, a significant difference in mentioning conflict between the two Photograph Instruction conditions was also found. Participants in the Use Race Photograph Instruction condition were less likely to mention conflict than those in the Standard Photograph Instruction condition.

The primary aim of the present study was to determine whether inducing participants to use racial labels could result in less subsequent explicit prejudice than a control condition, while the use of colourblind strategies would result in more subsequent explicit prejudice than a control condition. A further aim was to investigate how the impact of colourblind strategy use on explicit prejudice was moderated by how externally motivated people were to be nonprejudiced. I expected for those high in EMS, having the opportunity to use colourblind strategies would lead to more explicit prejudice compared to controls, whereas inducing participants to use racial labels would not allow participants to reduce control on their goals of nonprejudice, leading to less explicit prejudice compared to controls. I further expected that participants low in EMS, whose nonprejudice goals are internally-motivated, would exhibit similarly low explicit prejudice whether they had the opportunity to use colourblind strategies, were induced to use racial labels, or had seen a neutral control photograph.

While the results revealed that participants who were higher in EMS exhibited higher explicit prejudice scores on the ATB than participants lower in EMS, this effect did not differ across Photograph Instructions. Contrary to predictions, the effect of using racial labels, compared to colourblind strategies on explicit prejudice was not significant and did not depend on participants' level of External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice.

General Discussion

Prevalence of Colourblind Strategies

One of the primary goals of the present research was to investigate the prevalence of colourblind strategies in ambiguous situations. As expected, the current results demonstrated that when describing an ambiguous interracial interaction, the majority of participants avoided using racial labels, unless they were specifically instructed to do so. Notably when the experimenter was present in the room during the Photograph Task, the percentage of participants who avoided using racial labels increased from 65.6% in Study 1 to 82.0% in Study 2. This tendency to avoid race more frequently when an experimenter is present supports the idea that colourblindness is a normative process. Furthermore, as predicted, the majority of participants used an overall colourblind strategy: avoided using racial terms, mentioning conflict, and attributed blame to the Black actor. Specifically, of participants who received no specific instructions regarding mentioning race, 81.8% (Study 1) to 96.6% (Study 2) used some form of overall colourblindness.

Furthermore, in Study 2 participants who were obliged to use racial labels mentioned conflict significantly less than those who could use colourblind strategies. Of note, participants in Study 1 did not significantly differ between conditions in conflict ratings. I suspect that the difference in mentioning conflict between conditions was only present in Study 2 because participants were only instructed to describe the actors, rather than the situation. Thus, while many of those who had used colourblind strategies were willing to go one step further and describe the conflict in the situation, those induced to use race remained within the bounds of the question in order to make up for their use of racial labels. In Study 1, since participants were asked to describe the situation as well as the actors, this difference in conflict was likely not revealed due to an attempt by all participants to properly adhere to the instructions.

Motivations for Using Colourblind Strategies and the Effect of Inducing Racial Labels on Subsequent Prejudice

A second aim of the current research was to replicate past findings on the impact of colourblind strategies and implicit prejudice on explicit prejudice. Surprisingly, the current study did not replicate previous research (Kawakami et al., in preparation) that after acting in colourblind ways, participants high, compared to low, in implicit prejudice would reduce control, thus demonstrating higher explicit prejudice. Study 2 also explored External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice as a moderator of colourblind strategies' effect on explicit prejudice. This relationship between use of colourblind strategies or racial labels and explicit prejudice did not depend on participants' external motivations of appearing nonprejudice.

A further goal of the present research was to explore the impact of using racial labels on subsequent explicit prejudice. Specifically, I predicted that obliging participants to use race in their descriptions of the ambiguous interracial photograph would result in continued control on the goal of demonstrating nonprejudice. Since this goal would not be fulfilled via colourblind strategies, and unfulfilled goals stay active in the mind, self-regulatory processes would continue (Forster et al. 2005), revealing lower explicit prejudice compared to those who had used colourblind strategies, or those in a control condition. These hypotheses, however, were not found. Whether participants had used colourblind strategies, or racial labels, or seen a neutral control photograph, did not affect their explicit prejudice levels.

Potential Limitations and Future Directions of the Current Research

There are a number of limitations in the present research. Firstly, Study 1 was underpowered, and therefore results may be unstable. Furthermore, one possible explanation for these results is that as put forth in Kawakami et al. (in preparation), colourblind strategies come

in many different forms and thus, participants may have found other ways to demonstrate their egalitarianism (i.e., avoiding framing the situation negatively). This was supported by the fact that participants who were obliged to use racial labels in their photograph descriptions did not use significantly less overall colourblind strategies than those who were not given specific instructions regarding racial labels.

In Study 2, this issue was addressed and the Photograph Task instructions did not require as much information from participants' responses. Specifically, in Study 2, participants were more limited in terms of how they could apply colourblind strategies since they were only asked to describe the actors in the photograph rather than the situation. Though this change was made in the second study, participants both high and low in EMS, who had the opportunity to use a colourblind strategy, or been induced to use racial labels, or had described a neutral control photograph, did not differ in explicit prejudice levels.

Notably in Study 2, External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice scores were positively related to explicit prejudice scores. This finding is interesting because participants who score highly on the EMS are assumed be externally driven in terms of goals to demonstrate nonprejudice. Yet on a measure of explicit prejudice, they are responding with higher prejudice than those low in EMS. This main effect of EMS likely rendered the predicted relationship more difficult to obtain. Relatedly, Plant and Devine (1998) had found EMS to be positively correlated with explicit prejudice measures; however, they specified that these correlations were not particularly strong. It would be interesting to investigate whether instead of the Attitude Towards Blacks Scale, which is a self-report measure done in private, using a different measure of explicit prejudice that was more public in nature (i.e., responding to the ATB questions out loud to an experimenter, or a behavioural measure such as partner choice) could counteract this relationship

between EMS and explicit prejudice. Specifically, on such a measure, participants high in EMS would need to fulfill their desire to externally appear nonprejudice and should demonstrate similarly low explicit prejudice to those low in EMS. It is possible that finding a way to reduce the positive relationship between EMS and explicit prejudice could open the door to further exploring the possible impact of inducing the use of racial labels on participants' explicit prejudice scores.

Furthermore, the current study included a variable of "colourblindness" which combined various colourblind strategies (avoiding mentioning race, avoiding mentioning conflict, attributing sole blame to the White actor). The inclusion of this variable served as an attempt to capture the various forms colourblindness can take, and how people not only avoid racial labels but also avoid alluding to negativity in an interracial context in an assumed attempt to appear non-racist. While the inclusion of other strategies of colourblindness is useful and interesting as it provides a more rich and all-encompassing definition of what it is to be colourblind, its utility in the current context may be questionable. Specifically in Study 2, participants were only asked to describe the actors in the photograph, rather than the situation. Thus, omitting conflict or blame to either actor in their descriptions may not signal an attempt at being colourblind, but rather simply an accurate response to the question. However, it is noteworthy that despite this fact, participants continued to use conflict and blame words in their descriptions. Furthermore, the tendency for participants to still mention conflict in Study 2 revealed interesting differences between conditions. In particular, participants who were in the Standard Photograph Instruction condition, and thus had had the opportunity to use colourblind strategies, included conflict in their photograph descriptions significantly more often than participants who had forcibly used race in their descriptions. This suggests that the concept of colourblindness as an aggregate

variable may hold value, since when people mention race, they are less likely to refer to potential conflict, demonstrating that there may indeed be various ways in which people can attempt to shape their responses to interracial contexts. It would be interesting to explore motivations behind this avoidance of conflict when race is salient and causally test whether the negativity of a context can affect perceptions of prejudice associated with using racial labels.

While the present research utilizes an ambiguously negative interracial interaction to examine colourblind responses, one interesting extension of the present research would be to investigate the valence of a particular interracial situation (i.e., positive, neutral, or negative). Specifically, it is possible that describing a negative interracial interaction may cause those low in implicit prejudice to avoid mentioning race in order to avoid reinforcing negative racial stereotypes, while those high in implicit prejudice may simply be trying not to appear prejudiced. Thus, perhaps within a positive interracial context, low prejudice people may be encouraged to use racial labels, while those high in prejudice would remain unaffected by context valence. Furthermore, it would be interesting to examine whether inducing the use of race in certain valence contexts may have a more positive effect, with regard to prejudice reduction, than in other contexts. In particular, it may be fruitful to explore whether perhaps inducing the use of racial labels is particularly beneficial in positive compared to negative interracial contexts.

Importantly, Doerr, Plant, Kuntsman, and Buck (2011) find that Black people report having more positive past interracial interactions than White people, and this leads to their enhanced self-efficacy during interracial interactions. This is particularly important since this enhanced self-efficacy in interracial interactions for Black people also led to less of a desire to avoid future interracial interactions. Furthermore, since White people find interracial interactions to be stressful (e.g., Trawalter & Richeson, 2008), future research should also explore ways to

improve the perceived positivity of interracial interactions for Whites. It is possible that finding ways to talk about race, and use racial labels comfortably when appropriate, could aid in combatting the perceived negativity of interracial interactions, which could lead to an important increased desire for interracial contact.

Final Conclusions

The present research highlighted the pervasiveness of colourblind strategies. Social norms that categorize blatant discrimination and prejudice as unacceptable are beneficial to our current society. However, it is important to keep in mind that the existence of these norms does not preclude the persisting existence of racism. Therefore, insight into the motivations behind colourblind strategies and the effect these motivations can have on subsequent prejudice is of paramount importance in exploring race relations in a society where prejudice often lays below the surface. While in the present studies, inducing the use of racial terms did not affect prejudicial outcomes, it would still be interesting to explore whether providing alternative solutions to colourblind strategies, and ways of acknowledging differences and diversity without instilling prejudice norms, may potentially aid in combatting prejudice associated with colourblind strategies.

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